263 wild [140] throughout the region we visited. All the tribes are acquainted with it and use it regularly.

222 462 252 263 Collecting and preparing pili-pili are tasks especially reserved to women. Upon returning from the fields, a woman spreads the fruits on a mat before her hut and lets them dry for five or six days. Sometimes she uses them fresh, mixing them with palm oil enhanced with salt. The native uses this sauce to season his dishes according to taste.

252 263 412 When the pili-pili is quite dry, the woman pulverizes it in a small wooden mortar with a cylindrical pestle or with a small piece of elephant's tusk. The shape of the mortars used for this purpose by the different peoples of the Lukenie varies a great deal. From the Bateke to the Batete, we found only very crude mortars hollowed out from the trunk of a tree. Among the Yaelima and Ipanga this utensil is more carefully worked and finished. The shape is rather like that of a small rectangular box without a lid, but provided with a lug. Among the Basongo-Meno and Bankutshu of the Bena Dibele-Kole region, we collected very crudely shaped and primitive mortars, while others were well made and carefully carved. All of them, however, have the common characteristic of an elongated vertical form, and most of them have a leg. The pestles are always quite long.

We thus again find three ethnic zones characterized by the special shape of these utensils. Of course, this fact alone could not serve as the basis of any ethnic classification, but it might have a relative value and importance in drawing general conclusions based on the whole assemblage of the ethnic characteristics of these various peoples.

263 Once reduced to a fine powder, pili-pili pepper is mixed with salt to season food after cooking. All sauces are spiced with a generous pinch of this pepper. Meat is sprinkled with it, or even stuffed with whole peppers.

When the natives are traveling, they merely pick a few pili-pili and squeeze the juice into the food while it is cooking. [141]

●276 The kola nut also is very well known as a stimulant and is widely used. The kola tree is found nearly everywhere. The natives gather the fruit and chew it. Women do not indulge.

276 842 According to native belief, the kola nut ensures the fertility of a woman if sexual relations take place the night after the man has used this stimulant.

276 The regular use of kola induces very intense nervous excitement. We noticed that the adolescents and men in their prime scarcely use it. Only the old people use it regularly. Kakua, the old native chief, chewed it from morning to night. One day I pointed this out to him, asking if he were not afraid of the dangerous effects of this overindulgence. He proudly pointed out to me the huts of his seven wives, saying, "Ask them if they don't have children!"

276 263 278 Among the stimulants we may also mention the peanut, widely used by all the tribes, a type of small ground pea, and certain tree roots known to the natives but the exact nature of which we unfortunately could not determine. It is well to note, moreover, that most of the natives use the stimulants as medicaments as well as condiments. They are used for intestinal pains, colic, and as purgatives.

Fig. 81. Carrying Firewood.

467 252 In all the tribes the preparation of food and meals is exclusively the task of women. They always do it with great care [142]

252 The kitchen, if it can be called one, is always very simple. If the weather is good, cooking is done in the open in the middle of the village, in front of the hut or behind it, 462 383 and very often in the shade of the banana trees. If the weather is rainy or cold, the women prepares the meals inside the hut. [Ed., a passage is omitted here.]

1: Maes--112 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Dengese F016
Sakata F043

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The fact that these wooden cups are found in the Bena Dibele-Kole region is not without interest. Until the present time they had been reported only among the peoples in the region between the Kasai and the Sankuru, and certain authors even regarded them as characteristic of the Bakuba people. We shall say more on this subject later.

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If cannibalism ever existed, it has disappeared. When questioned about this, the natives as a rule vigorously deny any connection with this barbarous custom, but they do not hesitate to accuse their neighbors of the worst misdeeds. In our opinion, the peoples of the Bena Dibele-Kole region were once anthropophagous and practiced cannibalism until quite recently. It seems probable to us that on a favorable occasion they would not resist temptation even today.

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Geophagy is better known. Children eat earth among all these peoples. Among the Basakata, Lesa, Mosengere, and Wadia, all the natives and especially the women are earth-eaters. Potter's earth and the clay from the nests of certain termites are very highly prized.

Fig. 86. Bobaie Children. One of them shows signs of geophagy.

The natives seem to eat earth as a delicacy and perhaps also as a medicament. To call it food would be an exaggeration, for the amount eaten is very small. [Ed., a passage is omitted from the last paragraph, page 150, to the end of the section, page 151.]

[151] Hemp and Tobacco

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The consequences of using hemp are more disastrous. This sad practice, which seems to have been quite widespread among certain peoples, is fortunately on the wane, thanks to the vigorous intervention of the government.

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●276 In spite of a most careful search, we found only a few rare proofs of the existence of this baneful custom. [152] [Fig. 87 appears here.] [153]

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276 Among the Banfumungu of Mpozali, however, we found samples of hemp and calabash pipes, well hidden under the bed.

Asked about the use of these pipes, Lekana, the chief of the Banfumungu of the region, first gave us an evasive answer. I asked him abruptly if he did not know what use was made of the bundle of hemp I found in the same hut. He said simply, "The White man knows everything! Why ask me what use is made of these pipes?"

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276 The few pipes for smoking hemp that we collected in the village of Mpozali are decorated with feathers, beads, and small 778 bags made of raffia fibers or rags of imported cloth, containing the most diverse substances, white clay, cowry shells, ngula, etc. All of these various things taken together make up the essential part of most of the Banfumungu nkisi or ndoki objects. Their presence alone led me to attach a significance to these pipes that I had not previously suspected.

When questioned about this, the natives of Mpozali and particularly their chief, Lekana, were very definite: "Mbula Matari [Ed., European administration] has forbidden the use of hemp, but is it not nkisi?"

"Why can't we use it?"

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[757] When I explained to them the evil consequences of its use, Lekana asked me, "When we smoke hemp, do we still feel pain? Are not our sick people able to sleep after smoking hemp? Is it evil to make people forget pain and suffering, to give sleep to the sick? Is not hemp nkisi for the sick?"

I insisted, explained, argued, all in vain. Hemp and the pipes for smoking it were and would remain nkisi.

It is not only for the pure love of it, then, that the Banfumungu smoke hemp and that they do it clandestinely, since they cannot do it openly. It is not only the need to indulge a deep-rooted habit that impels them to disobey the severe laws which prohibit the practice.

1: Mac--114 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32

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[1521]

Fig. 87. Pipe for Smoking Hemp, Adorned with Nkisi.
Left: rear view. Right: front view.

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276 Belief in the magic force, the occult but beneficial power, of this narcotic keeps them from putting aside the hemp pipe. As long [154] as this belief endures, the Banfumungu will keep this pipe and will not give up the custom. If we could get them to understand that far from being nkisi, hemp is a ndoki and the chief cause of many sufferings, pains, and diseases, the fight against the use of hemp would be over throughout the Banfumungu region.

I would not dare to make the same statement about the tribes of other regions.

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276 Among the Wadia of Lubamiti, the Bobaie of Lebi, and elsewhere, I collected several calabash pipes, without being able to determine, however, whether or not the natives used them for smoking hemp. None of them was decorated in any way to suggest that the natives attached any magical or religious significance to it. Incidentally, the natives regularly used these pipes to smoke tobacco.

The use of hemp, however, is general from Leopoldville to the Bena Dibele-Kole region, but the custom did not seem to us to be as widespread in the region of Lake Leopold II-Lukenie as it is south of the Kasai-Sankuru.

The shape of the calabash pipe depends mainly on the shape of the calabash itself. This varies a great deal. We believe, however, that we can divide these pipes into two categories: one including the pipes with a simple spheroidal body and a long tube; the other category includes the pipes with a double spheroidal body, a constriction in the middle, and no tube.

This latter shape is more often found in the region between the Congo, the Kasai, and the Kwango.

We cannot, however, regard it as a special ethnic characteristic of this region, because this form of calabash pipe is also found among other tribes, from whom we obtained, as we did from the Banfumungu, pipes with the simple, spheroidal body and long tube which were used to smoke hemp.

The bowl of the calabash pipe is made from a tube of wood or bamboo, or a piece of stem from a banana leaf. The native cuts a small circular opening in the lower body of the calabash and sticks the tubular bowl into it.

The bottom end of the tube is always carved in the shape of a bevel or fork. [155] [Fig. 88 appears here.] [156]

1: Macs--116 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32



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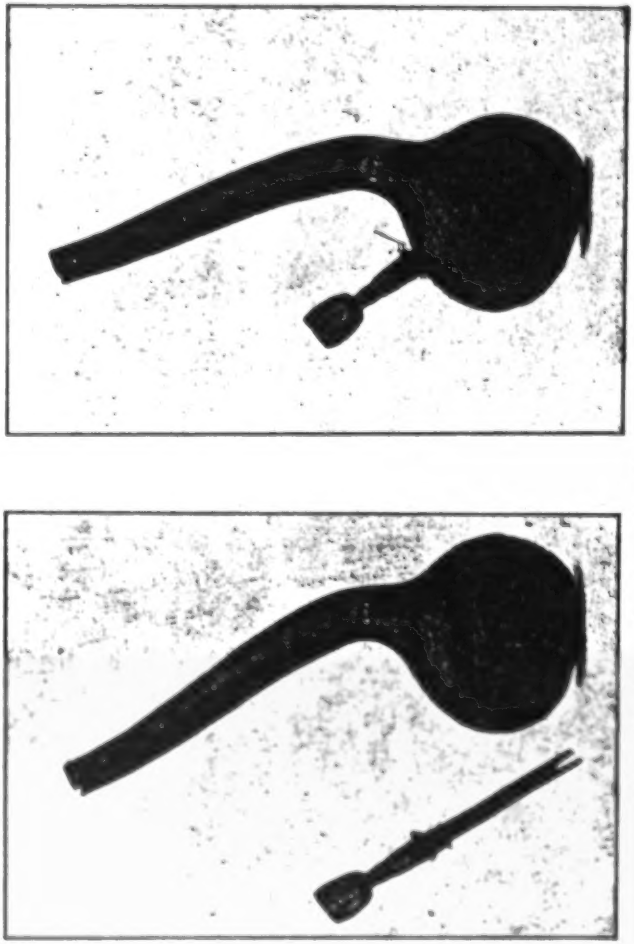

Fig. 88. Pipe for Smoking Hemp. Left: bowl and tube detached. Right: bowl and tube in place.

276 The hole for the mouth is cut at the top of the upper part of the calabash.

Usually very small, the hole is frequently overlaid with a thin wooden or ivory disk with a small hole in it, which is glued on with resin. We found a specimen with this special characteristic among the Tumba in the native village near Inongo.

Before using his calabash pipe, the native takes out the bowl, fills the calabash with water up to a third of the upper part and puts the bowl back in the opening. The bottom end of the tube is thus immersed in water, and the pipe is a sort of hookah.

The hemp smoke is drawn in by creating a vacuum inside the calabash. The smoke passes through the water, leaving all impurities suspended in it.

A calabash pipe found in the hut of Matari, chief of the Banfumu in the village of Kapanda near Kwamouth, has the special characteristic of a double bowl.

To smoke hemp, the native uses a simple bamboo tube stuck in the body of the calabash. To smoke tobacco, he fastens a special earthenware bowl with a considerably larger capacity on top of the tube.

The reason for using these different types of bowls follows from the way hemp and tobacco are smoked.

Hemp is smoked in small quantities at a time, and the pipe used by the Banfumungu for this purpose is his private property.

The native smokes hemp only when he feels safe from prying eyes, hidden in the bush or inside his hut with the door closed.

Tobacco, on the other hand, is smoked in the open during large gatherings, and the well-stuffed pipe passes from mouth to mouth.

As soon as the chief has drawn one or two hearty puffs, he passes the pipe to his neighbor. On such an occasion the tubular bowl, which is large enough for the small quantity of hemp smoked secretly by the native, cannot hold enough tobacco to give each member of the circle a good puff. Matari, therefore, takes care [157] to attach a bigger bowl so that the custom may be observed.

As we noted above, the calabash pipe with single spheroidal body and long tube is found chiefly in the Lake Leopold II and Lukenie region.

• 276 Of the seven specimens of this type that we collected, only one came from the Banfumungu, while the others belonged to various tribes of the region cited above.

The bowl is usually made of a section of bamboo or the tip from the stem of a banana leaf. All these pipes are of the hookah type.

The one we obtained from the Yaelima has a bowl cut from the kernel of a palm nut. This bowl is glued with a paste of [3/4] bulungu resin to a bamboo tube whose lower end is cut in the shape of a fork and submerged in the water.

The natives prefer to use this type of pipe for smoking hemp, although we noted more than once that they also use it to smoke tobacco.

The custom of smoking tobacco with a communal pipe does not seem to be practiced much by the peoples of the Fimi-Lukenie. As a rule, each native has a pipe of his own.

Among the tribes of Lake Leopold II, as well as among the Basakata, Bobaie, and Batitu, the tobacco pipe is usually made simply from the rib of a banana leaf. The native often attaches a small earthenware bowl to the lower end of it. This bowl is always very crude, and it is interesting because of its irregular shape which is long, thin, and slightly crooked. The native unquestionably got the idea for this from the shape of the pipe bowls made from the rib of a banana leaf. The latter did not stand up well under use; the bowl was burned as the tobacco was smoked. At first, the native replaced it by another, cut from a harder and tougher piece of wood, but he soon started making the bowls out of baked clay, while retaining the original shape. [158]

Pipes from this region with wooden bowls are very rare. We possess only one, which comes from the Batitu village of Longinpila.

Beyond the Batitu in the Bumbuli region, among the Bokala and Yaelima, the pipe consists of a long wooden tube, usually slightly curved and provided with a small earthenware bowl at one end and a monkey's femur at the other as a mouthpiece.

Sometimes the earthenware bowl is replaced by one of wood, [531] most often decorated with carved designs and often representing a human head. The latter type is very common in the region of Bena Dibele and Kole. Certain specimens are worked with great artistry.

1: Maes--119 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Teke F133

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Aside from this characteristic form, we found another which is no less interesting. The bowl and tube are always made from the hollowed branch of a special species of tree. The shape is slightly curved, and the top end slightly flared to form the bowl. At the other end of the tube, the native attaches a small spheroidal calabash with two holes, one of which serves as the mouthpiece. This calabash is lightly stuffed with raffia fibers and dry grass to filter the tobacco smoke.

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Other than this primitive form, we collected a few pipes belonging to the same category, but with the calabash mouthpiece replaced by a wooden one, sometimes decorated with carved linear designs and with small copper strips inlaid in the wood.

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We found, then, two very characteristic pipe shapes in the Yaelima-Bankutsu region which seem to indicate a certain ethnic relationship among these different peoples. We do not know if these same shapes are found among the peoples of the Dekese region, but it seems quite probable to us. We found this same type along the north bank of the Sankuru between Lodi and Isaka, so the ethnic zone characterized by these two special forms of the native pipe, at least in the region south of Dekese, includes the whole area from Bumbuli to Bena Dibele-Kole. These types are also found outside this territory, notably to the north among the Bakuba and Bashilele. It must be noted, however, [159] that the pipe with a femur for the mouthpiece is extremely rare in the north, while that with a calabash mouthpiece is very seldom seen in the south. This seems to indicate that we have here a zone of contact where we once more find evidence of ethnic relationships between the peoples of this region and the tribes to the north and south. It may be inferred from this that the Bakuba and Bashilele tribes of the Kasai-Sankuru region are connected with the peoples between the Sankuru and the Lukenie and that they even have ethnic affinities with the peoples whose territory extends much farther north.

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In the region of the Banfumu and Bateke, we find two types of tobacco pipes, one with a large bowl for communal smoking, the other smaller, with an earthenware bowl and a wooden tube and mouthpiece, used individually by both the women and the men. Along with these pipes, we also found several specimens

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with the bowl and tube made of iron. These pipes are usually very long and cruder than the small clay pipes with wooden tubes. Moreover, it is probable that the latter were copied from imported models. We found them chiefly in villages near the large centers and the government posts. Their shape is strikingly similar to that of imported pipes.

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We found this same type among the Bayanzi of the right bank of the Kasai and north of Kwamouth. These natives are thus connected with the Bateke-Banfumungu group. Thus a new ethnic zone appears, and the territory we visited may be subdivided in this respect into three ethnic regions.

The first one includes all the territory occupied by the Bateke-Banfumungu, the Bayanzi, and part of the Baboma, and it is characterized:

1) by the use of a calabash pipe, a nkisi fetish, for smoking hemp;

2) by the use of pipes with large clay bowls, for smoking tobacco communally, and the small tobacco pipe, the property of the individual, used by both men and women. [160]

The second one extends from the mouth of the Fimi to the confines of Batitu territory.

The hemp pipe is not nkisi. The tobacco pipe, very primitive, is made from the rib of a banana leaf and very often has a wooden or clay bowl. The woman smokes neither tobacco nor hemp, and the custom of smoking the pipe communally is not much in favor.

The third zone is the one where we found the wooden tobacco pipe with a calabash mouthpiece or a neck of monkey bone. It includes the whole Yaelima-Bankutshu region, taking in the Bashilele and Bakuba and, very probably, the Dengese region.

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As a rule, the natives like to smoke tobacco very much. They prefer doing it when the weather is cold, maintaining that it heightens the body heat.

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Tobacco is not cultivated on a large scale. The crop is always strictly limited to the needs of the person who plants it. When the native wants to smoke tobacco, he plucks a leaf from the plant, dries it at the hearth, crushes it, and reduces it to powder. A pinch of this crudely ground tobacco is placed in the

1: Maes--121 E-5 (1913-1914) 1924 FO32 Mongo FO32
Ntomba



receptacle forming the pipe's bowl, and it is covered with a glowing piece of charcoal. The native strongly draws in the smoke until he has his mouth full, holds it for a few moments, and then blows it out by opening his mouth wide and turning his head slightly to one side. He frequently inhales part of the smoke, which always provokes a violent cough, brings tears to the eyes, and sometimes entails pronounced discomfort. [161]

If the natives are together in a group, they pass the pipe from one to another after taking a good puff. Those waiting for the pipe often show signs of impatience, and anyone who ventures to smoke more than his share risks a real quarrel.

Women are never admitted to the circle of smokers, nor do they gather to smoke among themselves, but always do it in private. [Ed., the remainder of the chapter, through page 162, is not translated.]

[516]

Fig. 89. Monsengere Smoking Tobacco.